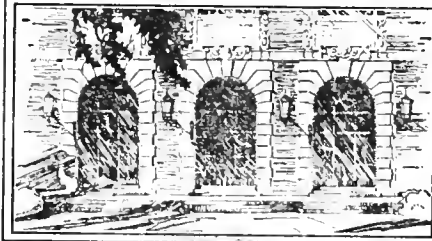




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**SECOND CLASS SUBURBANITES: WHITE BLUE-COLLAR SUBURBS  
AND BLACK WHITE-COLLAR SUBURBS**

Marcelino Cox  
Research Assistant  
Center for Urban Policy Research  
Rutgers University

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## SECOND CLASS SUBURBANITES:

WHITE BLUE-COLLAR SUBURBS AND

BLACK WHITE-COLLAR SUBURBS

by

Marcelino Cox  
Research Assistant  
Center for Urban Policy Research  
Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, New Jersey

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White blue-collar families and black white-collar families, the subjects of this bibliography, have been the two most recent arrivals to suburbia since the Second World War. Due to short-sightedness of many social science writers, the role of white blue-collar and black middle class suburbanization has been overlooked.

In the case of the blue-collar workers, this omission has been partially alleviated by the efforts of such writers as Bennett Berger (7). In the case of the black middle-class, no similar work on their suburbanization has yet been written.

What joins these two is the issue of their relatively joint and continuing arrival on the suburban scene. Are they really resegregating themselves in suburbia? This question is the central issue of this bibliography. The Report of the National Advisory Commissions on Civil Disorders first raised the issue of black cities and white suburbs (80). An exploration of the suburbanization of these two new groups, one white, one black, will provide the answer as to the future residential pattern of metropolitan America.

## INTRODUCTION

This bibliography attempts to encompass the relevant facets of "second class" suburbanization: the role of general urbanization dynamics in the formation of lower middle-class suburbs; and the major characteristics of the second class suburbanites, that is, white blue-collar workers and black white-collar workers, particularly their ethnicity and origin, education, occupation, and religion.

Special attention will be given to upwardly mobile white-collar blacks, partly because the participation of the black man in white America has been such a pivotal question in American sociological and political history. Authors as diverse in ideological persuasion as Patrick Moynihan and Robert Blauner agree that the situation of blacks in the United States is qualitatively unlike that of white ethnic groups, who are now largely assimilating into the fabric of this country. (10,25)

Various points of view will be presented in this bibliography to provide some guide to the overall context of black and white residential distribution. However, this bibliography does not attempt to support or disprove any particular theory. It is merely an investigation of the available literature on the subject.

Our central assumption is that a real spatial residential structure is reflective of socio-economic dynamics, a view supported by urban ecologists. (12) This assumption implies that certain zones in expanding cities can be identified in which are located socio-economic groups in the process of emerging into the mainstream of American society -- the "zones of emergence" identified by Sam B. Warner, Jr. (52) In his analysis of late 19th century Boston, Warner described this area as the innermost section of detached single-family units, the neighborhoods of upwardly mobile second and third generation Americans, for whom that residency signaled arrival into the mainstream of American life.

The historical inhabitants of the zone of emergence may correspond to today's blue collar suburbanites. If black suburbanization is indeed a function of their upward mobility in society, and if the suburbanization of the white blue-collar ethnics is a function of their emergence into the mainstream of society, then their new residential location would correspond to a zone of emergence. We therefore direct our attention to the middle-class suburb, particularly its upwardly mobile white-collar residents, and newly suburbanized white blue-collar suburbs theoretically on the edge of emergence.

This theory of social mobility -- a subject of considerable debate in the literature is neither refuted nor endorsed in this volume. Rather it serves as a stimulant and guide for the subjects of this bibliography. We have chosen three hypotheses which may lend some understanding of the dynamics of the model: dual economy, the colonial interpretation, and the lag hypothesis. None represents the universe of possibilities nor are assumed to be definitive or mutually exclusive.

### Dual Economy

Segregation of blacks relative to whites may be directly due to the fact that blacks are trapped in a dual economy. Harold Baron and Bennett Hymer pointed out that blacks have been traditionally relegated to the role of surplus labor, being the lesser part of the dual economy. (6) They point out also that this employment pattern has a direct carryover into residential segregation. This line of reasoning is directly applicable to Kain's theory of dual residential markets.

Harold Baron further maintains in his essay, "The Web of Urban Racism," that within the major institutional networks in cities there have developed definable black sub-sectors, which operate in subordinate modes, subject to the advantage, control, and priorities of the dominant white system. (5) He points out that during the initial establishment of the dual system, overt controls and rigid lines between the ordinate and subordinate were established. Baron further states that the well established dualities makes it possible to sustain the system so effectively that they even allow for some token integration. (5) Baron can therefore conclude that mechanisms of institutional racism, while not individually formidable can in sum be sufficient to maintain the effects of racism, (5) residential segregation being not the least of them.

### Lag Theory

The lag theory assumes that blacks in the north are immigrants similar to other ethnic groups, and with the passage of time they will assume a similar position in the mainstream of American culture. In Beyond the Melting Pot (25), Daniel P. Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, major advocates of this theory, maintained that black were like other immigrant groups, despite their unique status as both as ethnic and a racial group. The authors argued the blacks, while not about to be assimilated immediately, would become so eventually.

Internal Colony

A more contemporary model of the dynamics of black experience has hypothesized that the black community in America is an internal colony. This argument takes its structure from the dynamics of Frantz Fanon's analyses of the third world liberation. Fanon in fact determined that the problem of American blacks and Africans were not fundamentally different: blacks were not treated any differently by white Americans than were Africans by white Europeans. (19) In this view, the black ghetto is in fact a colony, and the relationship between the white America and Black America is between mother country and the exploited colony. Fanon described the native bourgeoisie of the colony to be in fact a fake one. They lack the essential element of a true bourgeoisie -- money. They are bourgeois in spirit only, and as a consequence are confined to the civil service employment. (19)

Before continuing, a mention must be made of the principal terms and organization used herein. For the purpose of this bibliography, class is related primarily to occupation. Although there are more constituents of class, occupation is widely regarded as the most important element. (17) Status will define those members of a group "who share a distinctive life style, accept each other as equals, and restrict non-instrumental social intercourse to the in-group." (17) Suburbs are assumed here to be residential communities, whose housing stock is comprised primarily of low density single-family detached units, and the bulk of whose employed occupants commute out of their neighborhoods to a centrally located business district.

At the end of each section of characteristics, there is a listing of variables which provides identifiable parameters for each suburb. Along with each variable there is listed the most probable area in which the data for that variable will be found. The source categories will be listed generically as state/local data, the U.S. Census, and for variables requiring field research.

SUBURBAN FORMATION: A CONCEPTUAL VIEW

In the simplest terms suburbanization, in the modern Post WW II sense, is the process of the deintensification of the density of urban areas. Thus, suburbs are not separate from the city, but a natural extension of certain sectors of urban population who desire lower density residential living and have the wherewithal to afford it.

Over the past fifty years an extensive literature on the spatial, social, and economic factors which affect residential suburban development has grown up, although no one general theory of the process has been established. This bibliography will attempt to present the relevant aspects of each theory, but first, we must arrive at common definition of suburbanization.

A description of the three main components of the popular concept of the modern suburb -- legal boundaries, function, and physical stock -- provides some insight to the definition. (26) The legal definition of suburbs is widely used, particularly by the Census Bureau in compiling its data. This definition states that all municipal jurisdictions outside of the central city of a standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) are suburbs. (82) This definition has obvious deficiencies: older adjacent municipalities may in all aspects of density, age, and socio-economic composition resemble the central city of the SMSA, while areas within the legal limits of the central city may differ in all those respects to the remainder of the central city and in fact may be identical to municipalities adjacent and more distant from the central city. (26) To this degree, the term suburb is not predictive of socio-economic status or housing characteristics of residents.

The functional definition describes suburbs primarily as dormitories of the central city. (44,26) This reflects itself in communities which are overwhelmingly residential and whose population commutes to employment centers, usually in a central city. However, this dormitory function of the

suburb is challenged by the fact of the existence of industrial suburbs, established as early as the 19th century, Pullman, Illinois is one example. (44) Clearly, suburbs can fulfill other functions than that of serving as central city dormitories.

The third component of the definition is the physical structure of suburban homes. The casual image of suburban land use is one which is overwhelmingly dominated by single-family detached residential housing. This results in low population densities and dispersed services. Accompanying this physical projection, it has been traditionally assumed, was a certain life style which was supportive of the protestant work ethic and other white middle-class values. Indeed it has been asserted that residential suburban development was intricately linked with the birth of the modern nuclear family of the 19th century. (44)

Despite the exceptions noted above, there is validity to the notion that the kind of suburbanization which was first evident on the fringes of the central cities after World War II, could properly be described as beyond the legal limits of the central city in location, dormitory in function, and low density, in residential development. It is within this context, therefore, that the attempt is made to render the theoretical framework of suburbanization.

Ernest W. Burgess was one of the earliest of the human ecologists to delineate a spatial theory for urban, and, more particularly, residential development. (12) Central to his concept was the thesis that there was a general aversion to residential location near traffic and congestion at city centers (the Central Business District or CBD) and a general inclination to locate in concentric bands as far from the center as was feasible.

Burgess divided the growth of the city into five successive bands at the center of which was zone I, which was the CBD itself. About this center was zone II, a transitional zone, in which was located some business and light manufacturing, but also the slums, the ethnic enclaves. Bordering

this was zone III, or the zone of working men's homes, which was composed of second-generation immigrant settlement, and whose residents had to be within easy access of their work in the industries of the second zone -- the people Burgess describes as having escaped the area of deterioration. The fourth zone or residential zone of "exclusive 'restricted'" single-family units. (This zone may today correspond to the inner suburb.) Beyond lay zone V, the commuters' zone of suburban development. It is important to note that Burgess in his location of zone V goes beyond the spatial definitions by alluding to the temporal aspect of suburban location in stating the commuter zone to be "within thirty to sixty minutes drive of the CBD." (12) In description of zone III he brought in the concept of access. These two concepts of access and temporal distance would later be developed more completely by William Alonso in Location and Land Use (3).

Despite the rigidity of Burgess' spatial model, he does present rudimentary explanations of three phenomena which directly concern this bibliography. The first is the idea of spatial redistribution of immigrant populations, as implied in his concept of area second-generation immigrant settlement. Implicit here is the notion that over time, with length of tenure in America, a spatial dispersion of ethnics would occur. This idea was later, more explicitly developed by Otis Duncan and Stanley Lieberman in their article, "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation." (58)

The second major concept touched by Burgess is the concept of succession. Burgess pointed out each inner zone's inhabitants eventually expand themselves into the next zone by a process of invasion and succession. This process involved the handing down of housing stock from one social group to another, as in Burgess' example from the "best" families to the families of independent wage earners.



The third pertinent area mentioned by Burgess was the formation of satellite cities in the suburban areas. For our purposes this concept alludes to some reurbanization process in the suburb, in which the service functions of the central city would ultimately have to be duplicated. As will be seen, despite the fact that blacks made up a small part of the suburban population, a relatively large percentage of their population in the suburb was involved in these service functions.

Homer Hoyt (32) was the second major contributor to spatial analysis of processes involved in suburbanization. His sector theory of neighborhood change attempted to describe the processes of residential distribution in terms of the high rent -- low rent differences and to some extent the class of residents. Essentially he theorized that the social class and income of neighborhood tends to grow in the direction of open spaces, but within a clearly determined path which was established at the city's founding. Moreover, Hoyt states that the high rent sector, while itself growing outward towards open spaces, pulls "the growth of the entire city in the same direction." He argues that the leaders of society are located within the highest rent point of the high rent sector, and that rents will grade downward from this pole as lesser income groups seek to get as close to it as possible.

The high rent sector therefore, is hemmed in on both sides by moderate rent sectors, which are in turn, surrounded by low rent sectors. Moreover, through the process of filtering, the areas behind the front edge of the high rent sector are filled in by lower income groups, the high rent sector has no alternative therefore, but to grow outward following the available space.

Like Burgess, Hoyt discusses filtering but in greater detail. In the course of his elaboration on the sector theory, Hoyt deals explicitly with three important forces.

He first mentions the filtering up of intermediate and lower income groups into the homes of the wealthy. He later describes the filtering process of the low rent categories as moving into houses left by the higher income groups. Most critically, Hoyt points up the differences in filtering between higher income housing, low income housing, and the intermediate income housing.

He states that the cost and size of the high income neighborhood homes make it difficult to find buyers for them, therefore once bought they are converted to either more intense residential use, such as apartments, or rooming houses, or to nonresidential uses, such as offices.

The homes of the low income area cannot be filtered down to anyone -- their residents were already at the bottom. They are therefore abandoned because no one is willing to occupy them.

The homes of the intermediate group, on the other hand, have a larger market of purchasers because of their modest cost and design. The loss of value incurred in the transition of the house from one owner to another is slight, because the use of the house remains constant, that is, residential. As a result, intermediate rental neighborhoods maintain their value better than either high or low rental neighborhoods. Though intermediate rental filtering is, therefore, always to lower-income members of the same class, little value is lost.

The second point discussed by Hoyt is an extension of his theory that ethnic neighborhoods tended to expand in certain sectoral directions. For example, he concluded that in Chicago, when blacks moved into an "area formerly occupied by middle-class and some high-class families," the area "was becoming obsolete."

The third point raised by Hoyt pertinent to this bibliography is the role of home ownership as a function and indicator of neighborhood decline. He describes the best of neighborhoods as having the newest of modern houses, inhabited by young couples with children. He states that thereafter, the house loses its value, and that as a consequence, progressively "lower income" classes purchase the housing. However, concomittant with this process, there is decline in owner occupancy, due to a decline in the income of each succeeding occupation. As will be seen, black homeownership in suburban areas as a proportion of units occupied by the group is lower than white homeownership. (82)

One question for modern black suburbanization, therefore, is to ascertain which of these kinds of filtering is involved. This answer would eventually shed conclusive light on whether suburbanization of blacks is a true manifestation of residential improvement or merely an extension of central city neighborhoods.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders observed that the black middle class has largely been trapped in the black ghetto. (80) The Report more explicitly stated that the past pattern of white ethnic groups gradually moving out of central city areas and into the middle-class suburbs and the mainstream of American life has not applied to blacks. (80) The Report concluded with its well known statement that, "Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate but unequal." (80)

Another major theory which lends some insight into the suburbanization process is the multiple-nuclei theory developed by Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman in their article, "Nature of Cities." (29) They base their concept of the structure of cities on four postulates:

1. There is an areal specialization within cities, because of the need of certain activities for specialized facilities.

2. There is a process of clustering of complementary activities.

3. There is a mutual repulsion of activities that in proximity are mutually detrimental.

4. There is an economic dispersal of activities based on the ability of each activity to meet the rent requirements per unit of land.

They argue, as a result of these postulates, that the structure of development within cities, rather than being centered in a main business district, is in fact structured around several nuclei which develop around relatively independent activities. In their discussion of residential districts, Harris and Ullman describe a similar pattern of development occurring in which high-class areas would gravitate towards the more desirable land, away from noise and other "nuisances," whereas the low-class district would be forced to locate near industrial activities. It is at this point that they allude to the filtering process by stating that as obsolescence of the higher rent areas occurs, the high rent district become subject to succession by lower income groups unable to meet the higher rents.

More pertinent to this bibliography is their discussion of suburbs. They acknowledge that the suburb can be of two kinds, industrial or residential. They state that the suburb is intimately linked with the central city through daily contacts, by either rail or auto commutation.

Important in the analysis of city structure by Ullman and Harris are their indirect acknowledgements of the existence of blue-collar suburbanization.

William Alonso in his article, "A Theory of the Urban Land Market" (54) and in his book Location and Land Use (3), provides a framework which would tend to explain the low density -- high density bifurcation of central city and suburban residential patterns. Essentially, Alonso assumes that there is a

commonly held value in the residential market which places a premium on space. Alonso maintains that there is an indifference curve in which the three factors of residential space requirements -- the price and location of land and the friction component of distance -- come into balance.

He formulates the issue by stating that all potential residents of a city face a trade off between a desire for large lot and an inclination to locate at city center (presumably the center of employment). Alonso then describes a trade off between residential distance from employment, friction, and the size of lot. Therefore, he states that in an effort to obtain a larger lot to live on, there is a tendency to locate as far as possible from the center city, where land prices are assumed to be highest. However, the need to commute to work acts as a friction factor in restraining the distance at which an individual can locate his residence from the center city, which is postulated as the work place. Alonso then states that the richer a man is, the better he can afford to accommodate the distance--friction factor and would therefore be able to live on a large lot further from center city. The poorer man cannot afford to locate far from the center city employment, and must therefore accommodate his need by giving up space. Briefly stated, Alonso's concept does contribute to the understanding of some of the economic differentiation of city and suburb. Moreover, it explains to some extent the density of living for each environment. Should the Alonso model operate in a market free of racial discrimination, we should expect to find significantly more higher income blacks in the suburbs than lower income blacks.

The most important insights on the processes of suburbanization and indeed the urbanization of suburbia, may have been provided by Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon in their description of the sequential dynamics of neighborhood change in their work The Anatomy of a Metropolis. They divide the change of a neighborhood into five stages, closely linked with its temporal obsolescence, successional history, and type and purpose of housing units in it. (30)

Hoover and Vernon divide the metropolitan area into the Core, Inner Ring, and Outer Ring, which more or less correspond to density of development. They project a first stage of development in the Outer Ring suburbs in which the overall density is very low, dominated by single family residential development.

The second stage is the transitional stage, in which new construction is still occurring in the Outer Ring, only an increasing proportion of it comprises apartments. Concomitantly, the overall density of the area increases.

In stage three, the down-grading stage, there are the first indicators of neighborhood deterioration. In this stage, the housing is being converted to greater densities than for which they were originally designed. There is little construction and an increasing population inflow.

Stage four is the thinning out stage, where there is depopulation, and a simultaneous decrease in density, as household size decreases.\* In stage four the phenomena of abandonment, demolition, and rising vacancy occur.

In stage five, which they describe as the renewal stage, is typified by subsidized low and medium income housing, and neighborhood regeneration, if it does occur, is largely a consequence of government intervention and spending.

For the purposes of this bibliography, stage one and stage two are significant. If the analysis of Vernon and Hoover are correct, the true suburbanization of both blue-collar whites and white-collar blacks would entail both groups moving into new, predominately single family neighborhoods in the Outer Ring. If, however, the black movement out of the legal limits of central cities is into areas similar to that described in stage three, then obviously the contrary must be inferred.

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\*This may be caused by the stage in the life cycle of the group who moved in during stage three, now older in stage four, their families undergo the shrinkage that occur with maturation.

A more specific picture of suburban differentiation is provided by Sam B. Warner, Jr., in his book Streetcar Suburb. (52) Though his analysis was centered on late 19th century suburban development around Boston, its application to this bibliography is relevant nevertheless, particularly in regard to the concept of emergence of ethnic groups and the stratification of suburbs by gradations of class. Essentially, Warner linked the development of suburbs to the extensions of the street-car system beyond the limits of Boston which freed residence/employment patterns from the constraints of the Pedestrian City. He argues that this, combined with class-oriented building patterns, led to the creation of suburbs segregated by class.

Warner recognized this class segregation pattern in the development of two types of suburbs. The inner suburbs, which he also identified as the zone of ethnic emergence, and the outer suburbs inhabited by the "central middle class."

The importance of Warner's analysis for this bibliography is his recognition of the concept of suburban "zones of emergence," in which second and third generation immigrants began to enter the mainstream of American life. The phenomena of zones of emergence was also recognized by George Sternlieb and Patrick Beaton in their work The Zone of Emergence. (49) Throughout Warner's work there is an implied social structure in which the ethnic proletariat of the industrial center city produce the wealth of modern industrial society, which was enjoyed by suburbanizing capitalists. This image is sharply challenged today by such writers as Sternlieb.

In "The City as Sandbox," Sternlieb argues that the city of the 1970's has lost much of its traditional reasons for existence. (48) He maintains that much of the productive employment which was traditionally associated with the central city is now gone to the suburbs. In the wake of this flight are left behind the "under and unemployed," and the unwelcome of society.

James Hughes sustains this view in his work Suburbanization Dynamics in which he details the process of the urbanization of suburbia. (33) He links the decentralization of industry into the suburbs to the accessibility provided by the interstate freeway system. He observes that the newer emerging suburbs are, through the provision "of industrial parks, office facilities, and commercial centers," becoming increasingly independent of central cities. He sees the central cities as becoming the preserve of the indigent and dependent.

Brian J. Berry and Yehoshua S. Cohen further support the argument of the superseded economic status of the central city in their article "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry: The Restructuring of Classical America." (8) Socially and physically they maintain that "decentralization and an outward urge have replaced centralization and core orientation" of the cities of the late 19th century. They argue that the increasing flight of whites from central cities has contributed to the expansion of metropolitan boundaries and the formation of exurbs in some instances more than a hundred miles from the city center. They say that this new metropolitan structure is multi-nodal. They also maintain that this new system depends on social rather than economic dynamics for linkages.\* Again they argue that the central city itself will become increasingly the province of blacks.

Peter O. Muller in his article "Toward a Geography of the Suburbs" also directs his attention to what he perceives as the functional disassociation of the cities and suburbs. (66) He further supports the thesis of a newly developing multi-nodal self-sufficient, urbanized, suburbia as the emerging

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\*More precisely, they argue that while in the past locations for employment and residences were fixed by traditional constraints, that now new technologies have enlarged the range of locational choices for both work places, and residences. The overriding criteria will be based on social considerations heavily influenced by new communications media.



dominant metropolitan form of the future. This new suburb would be absent of blacks, who with the exceptions of those blue-collar blacks who commute in reverse to suburbanized blue-collar industries, will remain within the limits of the central city.

Filtering and succession in black suburbanization assume a pattern distinct from the similar processes in white suburbanization. John Kain argues that two important concepts linked to black neighborhood change, which are not part of the general non-black process, are the black submarket and, allied with it, markup differential in residential pricing. In an article written with John Quigley, "Housing Market Discrimination, Homeownership and Savings Behavior," Kain maintains that in the study of one metropolitan area blacks pay a markup of 7 percent more than whites for similar housing. (64)

Kain in an unpublished study by the National Bureau of Economic Research details the mechanics of this process as being a function of a dual submarket -- a black submarket and a white submarket. (76) Housing becomes available to blacks outside black neighborhoods only when the white homeowner can no longer sell it for the price below the black markup and is therefore forced to sell to blacks for a price which includes the markup.

In discussing R. U. Ratcliff's contention that filtering involves "both a decline in the value of a dwelling unit and a succession in occupancy by a lower-income household," A. H. Schaaf points out that this depreciation is absorbed by the succeeding household by an expansion of their portion of income devoted to housing. (42) This process is more clearly indicated in the finding of Donald Phares that black infiltration into all-white areas usually occurs in those sections which were declining in value prior to the entrance of blacks, and once the entrance of blacks was effected, the value of the housing stock rose. (67)

This process is explained by the finding of Chester Rapkin and William Grigsby in their work, The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas, in which they find that even while willing to face the hostility of white neighbors the black first entrant has difficulty in finding a white seller willing to sell his house to him, and those who do frequently charge excessive prices. (41) The latter observation, in particular, would lend support to the existence of Kain's "markup" price for blacks.

If black suburbanization is an extension of traditional inner city patterns, then past filtering and succession patterns should repeat themselves in suburbia. Traditionally black neighborhoods have been those with the oldest housing. Black filtering into neighborhoods was usually into older housing, concomitantly associated with rising density. As John Kain has indicated, black movement has been largely limited to extant housing. (76) Homer Hoyt stated that both high-income housing and low-income housing do not hold their value as well as middle-income residential housing. Therefore, if black suburbanization is a repetition of earlier forms and not that typical of upwardly mobile whites, then black suburban areas would be marked by a rising density of the residential uses. This would directly lead to a decline in the quality of housing in black suburban neighborhoods.

Moreover, the pattern of ethnic succession would follow that of the central city. Duncan and Leiberson in their article "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation," as well as others, have noticed that some ethnic groups, notably Jews, were less resistant to black succession than others, particularly groups from Eastern and Southern Europe as well as native white residents. (58) Importantly, the traditional period in which black neighborhoods have usually succeeded has been in the equivalent of Stage 3 in Hoover and Vernon's analysis. In this stage, similar to Hoyt's observation of black filtering and succession, there is an increasing density

as a consequence of population growth. In addition, there are very limited building starts, and those that do occur are for higher density apartments rather than single family dwellings. There is a decline as well in the ratio of homeownership, even in single family structures. Concomitantly, the older apartments are subdivided into greater density use than before. Even the single family units become converted to higher density use through their subdivision. It must be noted that this entire process takes place in an area whose total housing stock is aging and increasingly obsolescent.

Geographically, as John Kain has pointed out, this process would be limited to areas adjacent to the black submarket. (76) As Peter O. Muller emphasizes, it would be constricted to the inner suburbs within the legal limits of the central city. (66)

In summation, indicators which would confirm the fact that black suburbanization is not an emergence into middle-class American life as it was for second and third generation immigrants of the inner suburban rings around Boston, described by Warner, would be these: 1) if this suburbanization is typified by low home ownership, a filtering of blacks into obsolescent housing with severely declining values; or 2) a significant increase in density of the suburban neighborhood due to subdivision of existing housing, and if there is residential segregation from other ethnic groups.

If black suburbanization is indeed the residential manifestation of black emergence into the mainstream of American life, most of these indicators would be reversed. Perhaps the leading indicator would be the percentage of single-family homeownership. The filtering process would follow the pattern discussed by Homer Hoyt for intermediate units. Hoyt maintains that these units sustain most of their value because their filtering down occurs within middle-class parameters, and that as a result the units are utilized for the same residential purposes by successors as they were by predecessors.

In terms of black suburbanization, this would mean that middle-class blacks would succeed to the same units in the same neighborhoods as middle-class whites. This would be accomplished without blacks purchasing homes of severely declining value on the open white market.

Moreover, if blacks were taking part in the suburbanization experienced by the general population in the 1950's and 60's, the density of black suburban areas would not increase. What increase there was would be related to the addition of new housing stock of the single-family variety. Allied with density and obsolescence would be a significant break in the pattern of black purchasing of extant housing. Thus, black purchasing of middle-class new single-family housing would be one conclusive indication of their emergence into the mainstream of American life.

It must be noted, however, that changing circumstances in the availability of single family housing and in the nature of suburbia itself in the 1970's may alter these patterns. As is noted by George Sternlieb in his article, "The Death of the American Dream House," single family homeownership may become beyond the reach of an increasing proportion of Americans. (47) This is linked to a rising cost in materials for housing and a general decline in the American standard of living. Moreover, this trend in the decline in the number of single family dwelling units is compounded by an increasing proportion of multi-family units in suburbia, as noted by Massotti in The Urbanization of the Suburbs (26,44,8) and James Hughes in Suburbanization Dynamics. (33)

In view of this, therefore, a less rigid view of black suburbanization may allow for an entrance into suburbia via its higher density form, typically townhouses, which entail some aspects of homeownership, and to a lesser extent multi-family apartments, which do not. However, this black suburbanization would be limited to new housing.

Similarly a numerical and proportional growth of blacks in suburbia may be a direct consequence of the urbanization of suburbia. If the urbanization process takes place, there will be a demand in the suburbs for the kinds of service occupations which blacks now and traditionally have held. As a consequence of this, suburban distribution of blacks may well result in their moving simply from one ghetto to another, as pointed out by Bennett Harrison in his article, "Intrametropolitan Distribution of Minority Economic Welfare." (63) He also points out that contrary to white suburbanization, black suburbanization is remarkably insensitive to economic welfare.

Suburbanization of blue-collar whites would also be directly affected by these trends. The declining availability of single-family homeownership and increasing multi-family development of suburbia that discourage the suburbanization of the 1950's and 1960's pattern would pose difficult choices for the young, white blue-collar families, with their disinclination to live near black neighborhoods (Muller) and their desire for single-family home ownership (Berger). (66,7)

One possible resolution to their problem would be to move into the exurban fringe described by Berry and Cohen. (8) In effect they would be paying in terms of distance an even greater tradeoff than that described by William Alonso. Added to Alonso's equation, in their case, is their desire to be far from blacks, as well as their taste for residential space.

The framework for white blue-collar location takes place under different assumptions than black suburbanization. As was pointed out by Kain the white housing market is open, i.e., they can purchase housing in any area, whereas the black housing market is constrained by a mark-up mechanism. (76) As a result the residential location of blue-collar whites may be more purely a function of the tradeoffs between economic ability and choice of area.

Newly forming blue-collar families are confronted with the basic issue of residential location relatively unfettered. The central city with its lack of single family units and aging housing stock is not appealing to the white blue-collarite. The inner suburb is similarly aging, though not as fast as the central city, is moreover within increasing reach of the rising black middle class, and is equally impalatable. With this new purchasing power the middle class blacks are able to meet the cost of the housing markup. Whether their power to purchase inner suburb housing is due to their ability to meet a positive mark-up, i.e., an added cost which a white seller places on a house sold to a black over and above that which he would sell to a white, or whether it's due to a negative mark-up, i.e., the sale by a white to a black of a house because he's unable to find any other buyer, is moot. The result is the same in both instances. The housing in inner suburbs is available to blacks. The value of these inner suburb houses may in fact be depressed in price relative to their value due to the presence of blacks and the unwillingness of whites to purchase therein.

The white blue-collarite then looks to the next ring of suburbs. Herein, are the very high priced houses inhabited by white members of middle-middle and upper middle classes. The price of housing in the outer suburb is therefore beyond the reach of the white blue-collarite who continues to remain disinclined with the housing in locations closer in. He therefore must direct his attention to areas beyond the outer, affluent suburbs -- these areas combine to be termed the "exurban fringe."

The existing imbalance in the distribution of blacks and whites between city and suburbs has lead to several suggestions for alleviation. In their article, "The Supply and Availability of Land for Housing for Low and Moderate Income Families," Paul Davidoff and Neil Gold offer several proposals designed to eliminate the legal and institutional barriers to equality of access for suburban residences, and the reduction of land development costs. (14)

In the lifting of legal barriers they essentially advocate the circumvention of local authority for zoning, subdivision regulation, and building codes by transferring power and authority to a higher level governmental body more responsive to metropolitan needs. Their main criticism of local province over land use controls is that it had been used parochially to the detriment of metropolitan needs. They list specifically large lot zoning, minimum house size lots, archaic building codes, and zoning policies which in effect exclude multi-family dwellings. They propose that the "principle of maximum access" from job-to-home should be incorporated into all zoning ordinances in order to provide residences for employees of newly relocated industries. They also call for minimum house and lot size requirements to be in accord with the true needs of health, safety, and public welfare, and not just for spurious fiscal reasons. They suggest smaller size lots and the relaxing of regulations against mobile homes.

In the area of land development costs, Davidoff and Gold advocate a reduction in the width of building lots, "preemption of local powers over subdivision controls" (giving them to county, state, or regional authority) and "absorption" of part or all of the cost of land preparation by local, state, or federal government in the building of low and moderate income housing development. (66)

William Alonso in his addendum to "Pluralistic New Towns" maintains the opposite stance. (3) He argues that black suburbanization could be counter-productive on two levels. First that black suburbanization would drain the relatively small upper middle class from the central cities, and would therefore "very strongly alter the mix back in the ghetto." Also he implies that the poor would "get more" for their money in stock housing rather than in government subsidized new housing.

Alonso, therefore, is specifically against government interference which will override local authority. He instead favors the French concept of "indicative planning," in which all parties concerned work toward a goal in which there is a mutual interest. (3) He calls this process the Voice Market, in which all parties concerned state their views and act where a ground of common interest is established.

A third and more specific concept, which directly deals with the issue of residential integration of economic, social, and racial classes in the suburbs--and is particularly pertinent to this bibliography--is the allocation system fostered by Mary Brooks and others. Brooks advocates that issue of fair share housing should be handled on a regional basis, in which all communities in the regional area would be allotted a proportional share of low and moderate income housing. (56)

In detail she lists two major strategies. In the first strategy housing would be allocated to regional sub-areas on a numerical or percentage basis. The numerical approach would entail allotting absolute numbers of units to each sub-area based on need; the proportional approach involves allocating a percentage of federally subsidized units allocated by region to each sub-area.

The second strategy establishment priority areas for residential location of all types, public housing, low and moderate income, or any other kind of subsidized housing. Each sub-area would then be marked as to the sequence in which it would receive lower income housing relative to the other areas.

Like Davidoff and Gold, Brooks emphasizes a direct need for a residence-to-employment principle to be incorporated into each strategy. In her emphasis on a regionalization of the total housing effort among several sub-areas, she is attempting to make the process more feasible politically, by lessening the impact on individual communities.



Synthesizing these viewpoints, it becomes clear that the integration of the suburbs cannot be accomplished by means which are not in accord with socio-economic dynamics of metropolitan growth. Any attempt which does not take into consideration this reality, such as locating governmentally sponsored low income housing in high rental residential areas, would be infeasible for either political (most likely) or fiscal realities.

Governmental efforts should be directed towards facilitating natural patterns of residential distribution. Strategically, this should take cognizance of the barriers to black suburbanization. Legally this should entail enforcement of anti-discrimination laws in housing. Fiscally it should provide for easy mortgage terms for blacks at all income levels. This would enable the black population to overcome the lack of previous home equity, which has traditionally constrained black home ownership. Administratively, efforts should be made to avoid concentration of blacks in older areas in particular, and foster the purchase of new housing rather than older housing.

All efforts towards black suburbanization must be regional in scope, and sustained by substantive governmental effort.

## SECOND CLASS SUBURBANITES I - THE WHITE BLUE-COLLAR RESIDENT

### Major Identifying Characteristics

The term blue-collar class as used here describes those members of society who perform skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled manual labor, which is routine and requires little individual judgement and little formal education. Most members of the blue-collar class are unsalaried wage earners. Included in this class, however, are governmental workers, such as policeman, fireman, and others for whom all of the preceeding qualifications do not apply.

For the purpose of this bibliography the terms blue-collar class and working class are assumed to be synonymous. Moreover, the terms "characteristic" and "indicator" are used interchangeably. Five major characteristics (ethnicity, education, origin, religion, and occupation) emerge as

indicative of class membership and will be considered separately in the initial part of this study. Other miscellaneous characteristics such as family structure, recreation habits, and organizational affiliations (unions and political parties) will be considered in a subsequent section.

### Background of the Blue-Collar Suburb

Blue-collar suburbs are not new phenomena. Some were built in the nineteenth century as a result of paternalistic efforts of industrialists to locate their workers in planned communities. (50) But large numbers of blue-collar workers did not move to the suburbs until after World War II. Bennett Berger was one of the first to observe this trend when he studied the movement of U.A.W. workers from the "central city" of Richmond, California to the suburban areas of San Jose. (7) The genesis of blue-collar suburbs also are not all uniform. D. Thorns divides suburbia into physical developments, the reluctant suburb, and older rural town invested with commuting suburbanites, tract developments, and the exurb, an area on the fringe of metropolitan development beyond the range of suburbs. He also distinguished occupationally, between middle-class and working-class suburbs. (50)

Blue-collar suburbs can be a result of "push" forces, i.e., a spontaneous movement on the part of white blue-collar workers out of urban areas because of dissatisfactions unrelated to employment, or they can be the result of "pull" forces, such as decentralization resulting from the outward movement of manufacturing and other blue-collar industries (68,43,65) J. Pinkerton has observed that "push" factors in patterns of suburban distribution particularly in lower status suburbs, primarily depend on the age of the central city. (68) In "old" cities there is a pattern of succession, more or less uniform, in which the

poorer classes are left in the center, and wealthier groups are found on the periphery. (68) In the case of "pull" factors, a succession or sequential occupance pattern of progressively lower status groups replacing higher status groups in neighborhoods of the older cities may not be evident. (68) Rather, the "new" political subdivision tends to form about decentralizing industrial developments on the boundaries of interstate highways or major pathways, occasioning resident "leap frog."\* These are far away from urban areas and do not compete with new residences for an expanding white-collar class near the traditional suburbs, and are not limited by mass transit technology as were the older blue-collar areas. (68)

The white blue-collar suburb is essentially inhabited by better-off skilled or semi-skilled workers. There are two types of suburbs, in which blue-collar workers live, (43) which reflect the character of the internal social change. In the transitional suburb, the cultures of the blue-collar class and the white-collar lower middle class clash. (43) Essentially, the white-collar worker feels he is threatened with a loss of status. This is ironic, for the lower middle class white-collar worker often has more in common with the blue-collar class than with the upper middle class. (16) Nevertheless, this class consciousness furnishes the energy which makes the mixture of groups a failure. (43) The process of transition is complete when the status-sensitive white-collar workers have abandoned their suburb to blue-collar workers, leaving the physical shell and the "township name to the undesirables." (43) It then becomes a more stable blue-collar area.

The stable suburb has two types of origin. It may begin as a tract development in which the blue-collar workers were the first entrants, or it may be the end point of a transitional suburb. (43) Unlike many white-collar workers

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\*Leap frog is a process of urban sprawl in which residential development skips over vacant developable land to areas more distant from the urban core.

and contrary to the myth of suburban mobility, the blue-collar worker conceives of his suburban residence as permanent, thereby creating a "stable suburb." (7,24,43)

The suburban white blue-collar worker has a heavy emotional and financial investment in his suburban residence. (7,59,43) In blue-collar suburbs, especially those inhabited by blue-collar ethnics of eastern and southern European descent, residences are fastidiously kept up; painting and lawn care are common weekend activities. His suburban residence provides the white blue-worker with a refuge from the business of the central city and a sense of self esteem. (65,76,59,43) Esteem drives him towards residence upkeep more than escape from job pressures, which is the reason for much white-collar interest in home maintenance. Moreover, blue-collar workers are self-satisfied about their arrival in suburbia. Berger observed that for the blue-collar class, the suburb is the fulfillment of whatever they feel they have a right to expect from America. (7) For these reasons the blue-collar worker reacts dramatically when he perceives any threat to his suburb, particularly from blacks. (59)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Origin	Field Research
Age	State/Local
Class Composition	U.S. Census - 1970
Type	State/Local
Portion of Income Invested in House	U.S. Census - 1970
Tax	State/Local
Satisfaction with Homeownership	Field Research
Attitude to Racial Integration in Neighborhood	Field Research

(NOTE: Field Research indicates the type of information requiring original, empirical observation. State/Local indicates that data for that variable is to be found in state, local municipal or regional governmental units or

their publications. U. S. Census 1970 indicates that data for this can be found in the publications of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.)

### Ethnicity

One of the basic indicators of membership in the blue-collar class is ethnicity. Two basic ethnic configurations are identified by writers: 1) immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. (7,59,24,62,39,43) and 2) immigrants of Protestant background, from rural and semirural areas in the Appalachian region (7,59,43,40) or from southern and southwestern states such as Oklahoma and Arkansas. (7)

Of the two configurations, the more familiar is ethnics from southern and eastern Europe. This group is so prevalent that the image of the American working class has been cast in this form. The economic position of the "working class" is also frequently measured by the relative advances of the most recent group of European immigrants. (7,24) (It is important to note that Jewish immigrants have not traditionally been included in references to blue-collar ethnics.) (59,62,31) Thus European blue-collar ethnics are primarily thought to be Irish, Poles, Italian, Greeks, and Slavs. (59,62)

Though they come from different national backgrounds these ethnic groups share enough outlooks and behavioral patterns to permit collective discussion. This collective value system is manifested in definite attitudes towards education, family, home ownership, wealth, and politics. (43,24)

Rural and semi-rural white Protestants from the Appalachian region and the South (68,45,43) bring to urban centers a poor southern rural culture combined with a petty bourgeois culture of the old middle class of nineteenth century shopkeepers and tradesmen. (7,68,45,43) They can interact geographically and socially with the European ethnic blue-collar workers without conflict, (43) perhaps because they share a rural background. Marc Fried of Harvard has noted that few segments of the white working

class trace their origins to urban working class populations of the distant past. (24)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Ethnicity	U.S. Census - 1970
Composition	Field Research
Southern and Eastern European Descendant	Field Research
Southern/Appalachian Migrant	Field Research

### Education

The white blue-collar worker typically has a low level of educational achievement relative to the rest of the white population. (7,43,59,24,62,38,39,65,40,71) According to the 1970 census, blue-collar workers generally had more schooling than service workers and laborers, but less than clerical and sales workers. (38) Only half of blue-collar males have completed twelve years of school or more as opposed to nearly 80 percent of those employed in clerical and sales. (38) The figure for managerial/professional workers is 87 percent. This relatively low educational achievement level is true for both native South/South-western Protestant and descendants of European immigrants. (38)

The white blue-collar worker tends to be oriented towards education as a means for pragmatic (economic) ends. (59) Thus, white blue-collar children do not attend college in the same proportion as other whites. (59,40,60) Furthermore, their parents tend to display anti-intellectual attitudes towards higher education. (31) Traditional attitudes of white blue-collar workers towards education are changing, however, as more of their children attend college. (62) Whether this is a result of the changing values in the white blue-collar class, the decline of blue-collar occupations or the employment of colleges to fulfill roles once filled by trade schools is unclear. (62,43)

The traditional attitude toward education persists. (43)  
 It is brought most clearly into focus when white blue-collar and middle class workers come into contact in political jurisdictions containing multiple neighborhoods. (43)  
 The white blue-collar class is more willing to sacrifice educational quality in the form of lower teacher salaries, restricted school budgets and double sessions, than are white white-collar workers, who place greater emphasis on education as an avenue of upward mobility. (43)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Education	U.S. Census - 1970
Attitudes toward Education	Field Research
College Attendance of Children	Field Research

### Origin

The immigrant first and second generation eastern and southern European blue-collar worker and the immigrant southern and Appalachian white blue-collar worker both reflect a rural background. The latter was usually a reluctant relocatee, migrating due to economic necessity. (7,40,43) The native blue-collar worker may come from the dust-bowl area of Oklahoma and Arkansas or from the economically blighted Appalachian region, yet the farm is the chief supplier in both cases. (2,7,40) Sixty percent of the nation's farm born-males had found their way into blue-collar occupations in 1960. (43) The blue-collar worker brings to his new suburban environment many aspects of his white southern rural culture, usually tempered, however, by an interim maturation process in a more urban setting. (7)

The ethnic white blue-collar worker can also trace his origin to the rural life of eastern and southern Europe. (7,43) Generally, because of their origins, they have a conservative, traditional view of life. This may be a

direct result of not only their rural origins but also, (51) of the authoritarian societies from whence they come. Greece, Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Romania have, for the most part, avoided the mainstream of modern European culture and were usually governed by totalitarian anti-democratic regimes. Many of the modes of political thought and social behavior of the ethnic white working class may be traced to their national origins. (59)

Many modern white blue-collar workers are children of blue-collar workers. (59) Americans of blue-collar parentage are overrepresented in blue-collar occupations. (62) With the reduction of immigration, the children of blue-collar workers may become the chief source of future white blue-collar workers. (7,43)

Contributing to this possibility is the decline of internal migration from rural areas of the nation as reported in the 1970 census. (43) Perhaps the chief reason that the children of white blue-collar class follow their parents into blue-collar occupations is the absence of a generational cleavage within their families. (43) Arthur Shostak explains that the close knit family relationship of Catholic blue-collar ethnics make it extremely difficult for the children to sever relationships with families. (43) As a consequence, the children of the blue-collar Catholics find it difficult to resist the pressures not to follow their parents' life style. (43)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Geographical Origin	
City/suburban/rural	Field Research
Southern/Appalachian	Field Research
Family Origin	
(parents occupation)	Field Research
Farm	Field Research
Previous Employment	
Category	Field Research



Religion

Though some from the Slavic countries of eastern Europe are members of Orthodox churches, white blue-collar workers from the eastern and southern European ethnic groups are chiefly Roman Catholic (59,24) and those from the south and Appalachian areas are mainly fundamentalist Protestant. (40,43) Judaism is no longer commonly a religion of the white working class. (24,31,59) In either case, adherents of Roman Catholicism and fundamental Protestantism prefer their religion straight, unrelated to the social issues of the time except as it serves to reinforce their own political and social beliefs. (59,43) This is especially true in the area of human rights and blacks, where ministers and priests who have attempted to liberalize the viewpoints of their congregations have been pressured into silence. (59,43,25)

The white blue-collar worker is, ironically, a relatively conscientious church goer. (59,43) His religion serves to reinforce his view of himself, his ideals, goals, and self-esteem. (59,43) Moreover, religion serves to strengthen a sense of community. (43) Among Protestants, particularly the less educated white blue-collar workers, religion serves as a legitimate means of expressing class hostility. (43) There is a significant tendency to "move up" from fundamentalist sects (Pentacoastal, Southern Baptist, Holy Roller) to more formal denominations, as the socio-economic status of the white blue-collar worker improves. (43)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Churches	State/Local
Attendance	Field Research
Ethnic Split	Field Research

Occupation

J. Pinkerton has reported that of 29 studies which measured class, 25 included occupation as one of the measures, 22 included income and 17 included education. (68) Occupation, perhaps more than any other factor, is a determinant of class. What is a blue-collar occupation? More precisely for the purposes of this bibliography, what occupations do members of the white blue-collar class hold?

D. Thorns asserts that the simplest way to identify a member of the blue-collar class is to establish whether he is a manual or non-manual worker. (50) Some jobs commonly accepted as blue-collar occupations are not directly manual, such as postmen, policemen, firemen and other low level uniformed government employees. (62) Three categories of occupations listed in the U.S. census and assumed to represent blue-collar occupations are craftsmen and foremen, operatives and non-farm laborers. (21) W. Dobriner expands the definition to include those who do manual labor, join unions, and earn wages. (15) More broadly, blue-collar workers encompass skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled wage earners. (62,43,39)

The federal government has defined its blue-collar workers as wage board workers,\* who receive the prevailing rate, i.e., "carpenters, truck drivers, welders, aircraft mechanics, electricians, plumbers and others providing valuable services to the government." (84) There are 650,000 of these workers employed by the federal government, 80 percent of whom are employed by the Department of Defense. (84) Federal blue-collar workers comprise approximately 1 percent of the national work force, however, their wages are at least 4 to 12 percent higher than the prevailing wages in private industry. (84) This, combined with the security of the federal civil service regulations, makes federal employment a choice job for blue-collar workers.

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\*Non-professional employees who receive standardized remunerations.

In occupational mobility, blue-collar workers are more static than their white-collar counterparts. (43,62) They move from job to job, but usually within the same category of occupation. (43) Perhaps most significantly, a blue-collar worker is usually remunerated for his efforts as a member of a broader group and class. That is, the blue-collar individual level of wage compensation is more a function of organized group action than is true for professional job holders. (45) Given the inherent insecurity of many blue-collar occupations, (45,24,31) blue-collar workers are more susceptible to unionization than others. (7,2,28,62,39,43)

Only 33.7 percent of whites in 1971 were employed in blue-collar occupations, while 39.9 percent of blacks were so employed. (83) More importantly, the black share of blue-collar occupations in relation to black work force increased 2.1 percent from 1960 to 1970, while the proportion of the white blue-collar workers in the entire white work force decreased by 4.5 percent. (83) There are, however, qualitative differences between white blue-collar occupations and those held by blacks. Whites are more likely than blacks to be employed in skilled and semi-skilled occupations in high wage manufacturing and construction industries in the main economy. (28,62) They are more likely to be unionized. (28,62) The black blue-collar worker is likely to be in unskilled, low wage, non-unionized industries. (62,28,31)

Not only were blacks disproportionately represented in the low wage categories of blue-collar occupation, but they were underpaid within the same categories. (21) In 1970 non-farm laborers were 10.3 percent of the black work force but only 4.1 of the white work force, operatives were 23.7 percent of the black force but only 17.0 percent of the white work force. Craftsmen and foremen, however, were only 8.2 percent of the black work force, but constituted nearly 14 percent of the white work force. (83) Whites earned in 1968 \$900 to \$1,400 more than blacks in these categories. (21)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Occupation	U.S. Census - 1970
Occupational Mobility	Field Research
Unionization	Field Research
Black/White Occupation Split	Field Research
Wages	U.S. Census - 1970
Black/White Wage Split	U.S. Census - 1970

### Minor Identifying Characteristics

#### Organizational Affiliations

The most frequently cited organizations to which the blue-collar worker belongs are unions. (7,16,24,28,62, 43,69,45,72) Outside of church and church related organizations, the union is the most widespread organization among blue-collar men. (36) Blue-collar women are more inclined to be affiliated with church organizations than are their men. (36) Other organizational memberships common among blue-collar workers are P.T.A., Masonic Lodges, singing societies, women's clubs, bowling groups, and other non-church social clubs. (36)

Blue-collar workers usually are Democrats (7,59,62 24,43) whether they have moved to the suburbs or remain in the city. (7,16,43) Contrary to the myth that as workers become more affluent, they will change in political orientation from the Democratic to the Republican party, blue-collar workers have generally remained Democratic in party affiliation. (7,43) This is not to say that they are liberal. They take with them to the suburbs the attitude and political postures they held in the central city, particularly their opposition to open housing, busing, the banning of prayer in schools, abortion, and racial integration. (65) When they register and vote, they become the core of the conservative wing of either party.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Organizational Affiliations	Field Research
Political Party	State/Local
Conservatism/ Liberalism	Field Research
Church Related Activities	Field Research
Social Clubs	Field Research

### Family Structure

Blue-collar families more often tend to be extended than white-collar families. (36,43,40) There is also a tendency to matrilocal location, i.e., to residence near the wife's mother. (45) Traditionally in the early years of marriage, blue-collar couples not uncommonly live with relatives. (45) This pattern is by no means universal, however, and may vary between ethnic groups and yield to the exigencies of employment location.

There are two principal types of blue-collar families, whose life style may be termed the traditional and the modern. (43) The chief characteristic separating the two is education. (36,43) If neither member of the family has a high school diploma, the family tends to be traditional; if both partners are high school graduates the modern family is more prevalent. Modern families are found more frequently in transitional suburbs, among mobile well paid workers, and among young blue-collar workers with higher education. (43)

In terms of decision making, especially in the traditional family, there is a low degree of interpersonal communication between spouses, especially in sexual matters. (36,43) In modern families there is less rigid role playing and more democratic decision making than in the more patriarchal and authoritarian traditional family; (27,32) but the relationship remains basically patriarchal. Both partners declare the father is the head of family, yet most of the internal affairs of the family are in fact controlled and directed by the mother, (36,43) particularly the rearing of children. (36,43)

Blue-collar men are reluctant to let their wives enter the work force. (36) They often perceive a working wife as a threat to their self-image and control of the family, (36) and acquiesce only for the supplementary income. (36). Blue-collar wives are thus much more oriented to wages than to career patterns. In 1970 the median income of married blue-collar men was \$8,025; household income for blue-collar workers was \$10,700. (38) This difference was due to the fact that 47 percent of blue-collar men earning between \$4,000 to \$8,000 and 42 percent of blue-collar men earning between \$8,000 to \$12,000 had working wives. (38) The fact that the proportion of working wives drops as income rises indicates that financial motivations were the primary reasons they worked.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Family Structure (extended)	Field Research
Head of Household	U.S. Census - 1970
Matrilocal Residence	Field Research
Education	U.S. Census - 1970
Working Curves	State/Local

## SECOND CLASS SUBURBANITE II - THE BLACK WHITE-COLLAR RESIDENT

### Major Identifying Characteristics

The second group of suburban residents to be investigated are black middle class workers. There are two components of the black middle class in the suburbs: the white-collar black professional, and the black worker who holds what in white society would be considered a blue-collar job.\* Categorization of jobs in terms of class membership differs from white to black society. (22,28) A postal worker is a solid member of the black middle class, while his white counterpart may be more properly identified as a member of the working or blue-collar class. (9)

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\*It is important to note that the occupational parameters of the middle class are wider in the black sub-society than for the white sub-society. (9)

A number of characteristics of occupants of black middle class suburbs will be reviewed, including family structure, occupation, religion, education, organizational affiliation, ethnicity and origin. Moreover, the nature and function of black middle class suburbs themselves will be reviewed.

### Background of Black Middle Class Suburbs

Blacks live in three kinds of suburbs: the integrated, the transitional and the black dominated suburb. (11) The integrated suburb is one which both blacks and whites are moving into. (11) The transitional suburb has reached a "tipping point" and is being abandoned by whites. (11) The black suburb is one in which blacks form close to a majority of the population. (11)

There are two reasons blacks have been located in the suburbs. In one instance, blacks may form the part of a past or present servant population who catered to wealthy whites and for whom dwellings were provided. (51) These areas may serve as a bridgehead for new blacks to enter the community. This pattern is particularly evident in the South. (51) The typical pattern, however, results from the residential distribution of social groups based on ethnic group and class. (34) The chief assumption is that people tend to reside with those of similar ethnic and social class background, then with those of similar ethnic background and, least frequently, with those simply of similar class. (34) (Social class is here defined as a hierarchy of positional attainment based upon differentials in income, political power, and prestige.) (34) Thus, despite the effects of housing segregation, middle class blacks are more removed from their own poor than are middle class whites. (34)

The first entrants of the black middle class into an open suburb have a higher socio-economic status than the white suburbanites around them. (11,34,51) Not infrequently they enter an area where the sale price for homes

is declining. (67) However, the gap between the sale price where the blacks enter and that of the stable white area diminishes after blacks begin their entry. The first high status blacks are followed by lower status blacks. (34) After integration the difference between the stable area and the declining area disappears. (67)

An all black segregated suburb often emerges from the open suburbs. The primary reason is the hostility of many of the white community -- family, real estate firms, and others -- which narrows the housing market for blacks. (1) Most blacks are also reluctant to challenge established white areas. Finally, there is a tendency to voluntary association within each ethnic group. (1,34) Historically, the federal policy of restricting blacks from suburban housing (1935-41), set the pattern which was later refined by exclusionary zoning laws and other devices. (1)

Middle class suburban blacks and whites share primary concerns about housing values as well as similar motivations for buying a home. (11) The attitudes of whites towards blacks change with the type of neighborhood. Whites in substantially and moderately integrated neighborhoods or those in black dominated neighborhoods or even those in white segregated neighborhoods. (11) They often feel betrayed by other whites who have left the neighborhood. (11)

Jews and Catholic whites are more frequently found in integrated neighborhoods than are Protestants. (11) Moreover, white Catholics are more likely to attend integrated churches than are white Protestants. (11)

### Family Structure

Blacks suburban households are also larger than those of blacks in the inner city. (1) This is true despite the fact that college educated black women are less fertile than college educated white women and inner city non-college educated black women. (74)



Increased family size may be due to three factors. First, the presence of the male provides an additional person in the suburban household. Moreover, college educated women, while more prevalent in the suburbs, are nevertheless only a small percentage of black females in the suburb. (74) An equally significant factor is the frequent presence of relatives and in-laws in middle class black suburban households, which may mean as many as three incomes per family unit. (11,1)

A large number of dependents and ability to relocate stimulate black middle class families to make the effort to move into a hostile white suburb in order to obtain educational and public safety advantages not available in the inner city. (1,78)

Even though they are less likely than central city blacks to have female headed families, black suburban families are more likely than suburban white families to be in this census category. (74)

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Family Size	U.S. Census - 1970
Male/Female Household Head	U.S. Census - 1970
Age of Family	U.S. Census - 1970
Female Household Head Relative to Whites in Suburb	U.S. Census

### Occupation

The black white-collar middle class is occupationally similar to the white white-collar middle class. Black white-collar middle class workers are usually professionals--lawyers, doctors, and managers. (11) Even though they comprise a relatively small portion of the black middle class, they are most frequently found in open suburbs and also initiate the movement into a white suburb. (11,57) Despite their residential distance from most blacks, the primary clients of black professionals, particularly lawyers and doctors, are black people. (11) However, they are not remunerated at the same level of income as their similarly high status white suburban colleagues. (74)

Most of the black middle class in the suburbs is made up of a low level white-collar and higher level blue-collar workers. (74) They are much more reliant on government employment than are white suburbanites. (74) This is particularly true in departments where there are more open civil service examinations, such as the Postal Service.\* (74) Whereas the wives of high socio-economic status black professionals in integrated suburbs tend not to work, the wives of lower status white-collar black men and higher level blue-collar black men are more frequently members of the labor force. (11)

If a chief difference between the suburban and urban black is the presence of a male head of household, the difference between an open integrated suburb and an all black suburb is also linked to a singularly strong variable, occupational status. (11)

However, aside from the relatively small number of high status blacks in the black suburbs, the occupational structure of the black suburban middle class is similar to that of central city working blacks. (74)

Crucial to understanding black occupational structure is the ratio of black unemployment to overall white unemployment. The unemployment rate for blacks is twice that of whites. (75) Therefore, the hold of black middle class suburban residents on their homes and status is more tenuous than it is for white suburbanites.

The greater frequency of prior homeownership among whites enables them to bring more accumulated equity into new homeownership than blacks. As a result of this whites had to finance a smaller proportion of their home purchase mortgages than blacks. This directly raised the monthly principal and interest payments of blacks. This also was a factor in having blacks buy less expensive homes than whites. (81) This factor functioned as an additional constraint on the capacity and scope of black home ownership.

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\*Teaching also has been a traditional source of white-collar employment for blacks. (9)

In all four major categories of occupation classified as white collar, i.e., professionals, managers, sales personnel, and clerical employees, black workers earn less than white. (75) Black male professionals and managers earn 71 percent of the income of white male professionals and managers, black male sales workers earn 39 percent of white male sales workers' income, and black clerical workers earn 87 percent of the income of white clericals. (75) The large white-black differential in pay in the area of sales explains the relative absence of black sales workers from the ranks of white-collar blacks in the open suburbs. The differential in occupational income between black females and white males is even greater than the one between black males and white males. (75)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Occupation Profile	U.S. Census - 1970
Pay Differential	U.S. Census - 1970
White/Blue Collar Mix	Field Research
Unemployment	State/Local

### Religion

Members of the black middle class tend to relinquish Baptist and Methodist church ties and instead move towards the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Catholic churches.\* (22,11) Blacks who move into integrated suburbs become Catholics to a much greater degree than do central city blacks, especially those of Southern suburbs, where 20 percent of all blacks are Catholics compared to the central city figure of 2 percent. (11)

The reason for this process of religious change may be twofold. Upwardly mobile blacks may be following the pattern of white Americans in moving from fundamentalist churches

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\*A movement away from all religion is a smaller part of black upward mobility than it is of white.

towards more established churches as they rise in status. (43)  
 On the other hand, the black middle class may tend to abandon  
 its folk roots, an important part of which was the church. (22)  
 For the lower class black from the rural South, the church  
 functioned as much more than a force of social organization;  
 in fact it may have provided a source of meaning to a black's  
 life. (22) Many members of the black middle class look upon  
 the church as an instrument of advancement. (22)

Historically, many members of the black middle class may  
 have abandoned religion entirely, at least in its organized  
 form. (22) Because of this, church attendance in the  
 suburbs may be an excellent index of residential mobility.  
 It is important to note, however, that even among middle  
 class blacks in open integrated neighborhoods, blacks tend  
 to attend the nearest all black church when possible. (11)  
 When blacks do attend interracial churches, it is much  
 more a function of mandated church policy than choice, i.e.,  
 Catholic churches may be more integrated than Protestant  
 equivalents. (11)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Religion	State/Local
Attendance	Field Research
Preference of Attendance	Field Research
Racial Make-up of Church Membership	Field Research

### Education

Black middle class suburban residents usually have a  
 higher level of education than either the central city  
 black or the white population immediately adjoining them.  
 (11,52) Black female middle class suburban residents have  
 more education than their male counter parts. (74) It is  
 important to note that the college educated black suffers  
 proportionately more from occupational discrimination than  
 less educated blacks. (9)

Related to this issue Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg point out that in recent years certain types of black families have reached income parity with white families of similar type. (70) Scammon and Wattenberg assert that income for black husband-wife families, under 36, in which both partners work, was four percent greater than for similar white families. In only this type of family were they able to make this observation, and it was true, only for black families living in the North and West, but not for those in the South. This fact underscores the importance of the working wife among middle income black families. However, as Scammon and Wattenberg themselves acknowledge, young black wives of these families were more likely to work full time than were the young white wives. (81) More importantly, Wattenberg and Scammon have not been able to demonstrate any occupational category in which blacks earn the same as whites all other factors being equal.

Recently, the Scammon and Wattenberg thesis of a steadily improving black socio-economic condition has been challenged. The Urban League has found evidence that the economic condition of blacks vis a vis whites has declined in the period following 1970. (79)

In open, integrated neighborhoods, the median educational attainment for blacks was 16 years, while for whites in the same neighborhood the figure was only 12.1; for black segregated areas it was 9.6 (11) Proportionately, more black males were college educated in the suburbs than in the central city. (74) Black suburban superiority holds true for other indices of educational attainment as well. (74)

It is important to note that college educated blacks are awarded less for their credentials than are college educated whites. (75) In 1969, only 17 percent of college educated black heads of households were earning \$15,000-24,999 while 42 percent of college educated white heads of households were earning that amount. (75)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Level of Education	U.S. Census - 1970
Black Male/Female Education Ratio	U.S. Census - 1970
Black/White Education Ratio in Suburbs	U.S. Census - 1970
Black/White Pay per Education Ratio	U.S. Census - 1970
Education of Head of family	U.S. Census - 1970

### Organizational Affiliations

Black members of the middle class are traditionally very active in social clubs and societies (22,73) such as lodges and, especially, fraternities and sororities. (22,73) The May 1974 issue of "Ebony," listed 100 "most influential" blacks; among them were nine heads of lodges, fraternities, and sororities. (73) Prominent among the lodges were the Elks, Odd Fellows, and Masons. (73) Fraternities and sororities, being directly dependent on college enrollment, are even more indicative of black middle class status than are lodges. Sororities and fraternities serve dual functions. They enable the member to socialize and they provide communal fellowship. (22) They may also lend occupational and financial aid to their members. (22)

The black middle class is the chief supporter of traditional civil rights groups, (22) particularly the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. (22) For this reason, these organizations have traditionally supported the interests of the black middle class, as well as poor blacks.

The black middle class has traditionally been antiunion, (22) in part because blacks were once used as strike breakers, and in part because anti-black exclusionary practices are still prevalent. (22,2)

Historically, the black middle class was allied with the Republican Party. (22) This tradition was broken with the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The black middle class followed the lead of the black lower class in supporting programs of liberal Democrats. (22) Today the black middle class is overwhelmingly Democratic. Less than six percent of the black electorate voted for Richard Nixon in the 1968 presidential election. (22)

The interests of the black middle class and the black lower class do not always coincide, however. Often the priorities of the black middle class are those issues which would directly affect them, such as open housing and travel accommodations. In some instances, particularly where narrow occupational privileges are concerned, the interests of members of the black middle class and the black lower class may conflict. For example, socialized medicine would benefit the black masses, but it is opposed vehemently by black physicians. (22)

In short, most of the new black middle class is torn between militant nationalism and accommodationist integrationism. (2)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Membership in Lodges	Field Research
Membership in Fraternities and Sororities	Field Research
Civil Rights Organizational Membership	Field Research
Party Registration	State/Local

### Ethnicity and Origin

There are two major identifiable ethnic groups among American blacks. (25) The first is the native American who, in the main, descends from the slaves of the rural South and freedmen of the North. (22) The second group of blacks are immigrants from the British West Indies and other Caribbean islands who are usually referred to as West Indians. (25,13,22)

The influence of the experience of foreign blacks has always been felt by black Americans. This was so even during the period of slavery. Before emancipation it was common for free black Americans to celebrate August 1, West Indian Emancipation Day, rather than July 4. (20) This pattern has continued in the present interest in the struggles of developing Africa.

West Indians were heavily concentrated in the black sections of New York City in the 1920's and 1930's, particularly those areas less inclined to anti-black sentiments. (25) They avoided any major settlement in the South. (13)

West Indian ethnic cohesion is evident today in the perpetuation of their neighborhoods. In these neighborhoods numerous stores and bakeries cater to West Indian tastes, and newspapers report news of the West Indies as well as news of West Indians in New York. A significant demonstration of this ethnic awareness is the annual West Indian Day Parade, which attracts upwards of 600,000 spectators. (78)

The ideological differences among the black intelligentsia in the 1920's can in one aspect be broken down along West Indian and black American lines. (13) The Garvey Movement,\* for example, was supported by many West Indians but was opposed by much of the black American middle class. (10,18) Observers have also noted certain cultural differences between West Indians and American blacks. West Indians tend to be Anglican in religion and conservative in behavior. (25,13)

West Indians have been relatively more successful in adapting to metropolitan New York than have native American blacks. (25) Many of the black intelligentsia are of West Indian origin. (13) Black leaders such as Roy Innis, Stokeley Carmichael, Shirley Chisholm, Marcus Garvey, and Kenneth Clark were all of West Indian origin. In some

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\*Black nationalist movement of mid-1920's emphasizing black cultural identification. (13)



areas of the country a disproportionately large part of the black American middle class is West Indian. This may also reflect itself in the ultimate formation of predominantly West Indian middle class suburbs.\*\*

The overwhelming majority of blacks in America are descendants of southern, rural workers, some of whom immigrated North and West during the early twentieth century. (27,22) Those who came North to the major urban centers reflected their regional backgrounds. In general, blacks from the upper south, border, and southwestern states had a higher level of education than did blacks from the Deep South. (27) Moreover, those who were raised in the North and other areas outside of the South had a higher level of education than native blacks from the South. (27) Their educational levels may have affected their relative representations in the black white-collar class, if not the higher level black blue-collar class. In the North, much of the black white-collar sector is composed of native northerners and emigres from border and southwestern states and their descendants.

There are other ethnic components of the black population. French, Dutch, and Spanish speaking blacks also come from the West Indies. Blacks may come from other areas as well including Canada and Africa itself. Internally, blacks may reflect an admixture with American Indian and French influences. These ethnic components, though significant, have not yet been sufficiently identified or analyzed to assess their impact.

The exact size of the foreign black population in the U.S. has not been measured. There is an estimate that it is no larger than two percent, with a high concentration in New York. (25,51)

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\*\*Cambria Heights, N.Y. is a prominent example of a suburb with a high concentration of West Indians.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Where Found</u>
Origin	U.S. Census - 1970
Descent	Field Research
Ethnicity	Field Research

### Life Style

For both white blue-collarites and black white-collarites, there is little doubt that recreation habits would provide key indexes of overall life style. However, while there exists some literature for each, notably in Blue-Collar Marriage by Mirra Komarovsky (36) and Black Bourgeoisie by E. Franklin Frazier (22), and some clues may be provided in popular periodicals such as Time (55), Ebony (73), and Jet, the data available in the area is not extensive enough to warrant acceptance as definitive indices.

### FUTURE AVENUES FOR RESEARCH

In concluding this bibliography, areas requiring research must be indicated. Since the subjects of this bibliography are linked, the most obvious areas of interaction between them must be investigated.

Foremost among the issues of this bibliography therefore, is whether there is a resegregation of residential housing occurring in the suburbs. Can this be identified by patterns of white blue-collar and black white-collar suburbanization? Are white blue-collar families removing themselves to the fringes of urban development to avoid blacks? If so, does this follow discrete and discernable patterns in terms of concentration and geographic location. If this pattern of concentration does exist, would it manifest itself in white blue-collar municipalities and what would be the mix of these communities in terms of race, income, occupation and education?

Conversely has the numerical increase\* in the suburban black population in the decade from 1960-1970 resulted in

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\*While the proportion of blacks in the suburbs remained virtually the same from 1960-1970, there was a substantial Numerical increase of over 800,000 in the same period. (82)

new patterns of black residential distribution? Has black suburbanization been into new housing or into aging obsolescent housing? Has it been limited to areas adjacent to black neighborhoods or scattered randomly throughout suburban areas? Or has black suburbanization been confined to the inner suburbs.

Who are the black suburbanites? What are their incomes, occupations, and educational profiles? Is there developing concentrated suburban communities of middle class blacks racially separate but otherwise similar to middle class white communities? What is the mix of the black suburbs? What are the constraining factors governing black movement into and within the suburbs?

Some of these questions have been raised during the course of the bibliography. None of them have yet been dealt with in a definitive and significant work.

There are many other secondary but nonetheless important questions which arise. What, for example, is the role of single-family homeownership patterns versus higher density rental, residential dwellings in the role of black suburbanization? More explicitly, is the chief form of black suburbanization going to be movement into apartments and condominiums?

What are the important factors in the residential segregation of suburban, and middle class blacks? Is it the function of a markup mechanism described by Kain? (64) The effect of increased transportation cost on the rate of both white blue-collar and black middle class suburbanization is unknown as well. Perhaps more basically, the final result of the housing shortage on middle class black homeownership patterns is unknown.

The need for modern empirical data and analysis in these areas is paramount if we are to adequately understand and cope with the issues of the modern metropolis.

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